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E S S A Y
O N
MILITARY EDUCATION.

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MILITARY ACADEMY, LITTLE CHELSEA.

——— Ego nec studium sine divite venâ,
Nec rude quid profit video ingenium; alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicé. HOR.

I call A COMPLETE AND GENEROUS EDUCATION, that which fits a man
to perform JUSTLY, SKILFULLY, and MAGNANIMOUSLY, all the
offices, both private and public, of PEACE and WAR. MILTON.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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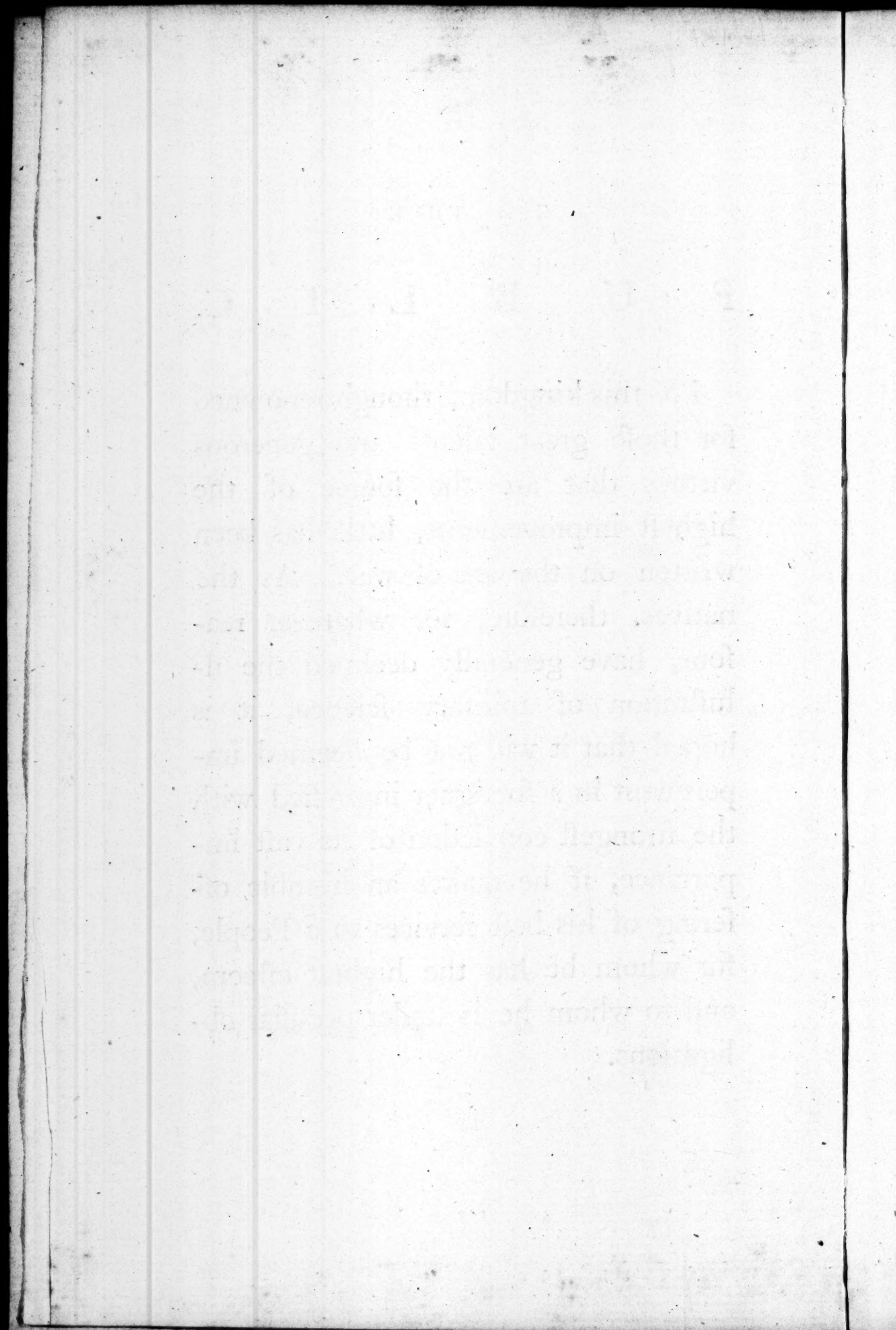
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P U B L I C.

IN this kingdom, though renowned for those great talents and generous virtues that are the source of the highest improvements, little has been written on the art of war. As the natives, therefore, for whatever reasons, have generally declined the illustration of military science, it is hoped that it will not be deemed impertinent in a foreigner impressed with the strongest conviction of its vast importance, if he makes an humble offering of his best services to a People, for whom he has the highest esteem, and to whom he is under peculiar obligations.



E S S A Y

O N

MILITARY EDUCATION.

“THE laws of education,” says Montesquieu, “are the first impressions we receive; and as they prepare us for civil life, each particular family ought to be governed by the principles of the great family that comprehends them all.” Hence it becomes necessary, that the education of youth, in every state, should be formed and adapted to the nature, end, and principle of its government.

Every kind of government has its nature, end, and principle: its nature is its particular constitution adapted to some end; its end is that to which its constitution is essentially disposed; and its principle is the active power of compassing that end. From this view it is evident, that the principle is the most essential part, the very soul of government, that puts it in motion, and gives it life and vigour. It follows, therefore, as a fundamental rule in
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education, that the principle by which the whole community is regulated and supported, cannot be too highly cultivated in the mind of every individual.

All governments may be reduced to three species, the republican, the monarchical, and the despotic; to each of which Montesquieu has assigned its proper principle: “to the republican, virtue; to the monarchical, honour; and to the despotic, fear.”

Virtue in a republic, is the love of country, and of the laws by which its welfare is secured and improved. This produces temperance, justice, fortitude; a suppression of all base and selfish passions; a continual sacrifice of private interest to the good of the community; and such universal benevolence of affection, and integrity of action, as give reciprocal strength to the noble principle from which they are derived.

Honour, the principle of a monarchical state, according to Montesquieu, “estimates the actions of men, not as good but as splendid, not as just but as great, not as reasonable
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"sonable but as extraordinary." The spirit of monarchy endeavours to effect as much as it possibly can, without virtue. It subsists independently of the love of country, of the thirst of true glory, of purity of manners, of the sacrifice of our dearest private interests, and of all those exalted virtues, which, in singular instances and during short intervals, we so much and so justly admire in the antients. Honour is, indeed, inseparable from virtue; but no otherwise than as an effect from its cause: when it assumes the power of the leading principle, vice may be virtue, and virtue vice, as caprice and passion shall determine; for it is then wholly selfish, and is changeable in its objects and pursuits as interest predominates: in the vain-glory of pretensions to sensibility of affection, and of possessing those arts and accomplishments that ensure conquest, it exalts the seduction of innocence, and the violations of conjugal fidelity, into acts of gallantry; and from a preposterous idea of greatness of soul, and the true interests of the state, it descends even to intrigue and cunning, and deems the breaches of public faith refinements of policy.

But fear, the principle of despotism, is incapable not only of virtue, but even of those delusive appearances of it that honour may chance to assume. It is the extinction of all intellectual light, the suppression of every generous affection: and as the tyrant and the slave are equally under its dominion, deep ignorance and multiplied wretchedness must be the lasting portion of both.

If we take a survey of all the associations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, we shall find, that they have risen to greatness or fallen to ruin, have been happy in themselves and beneficial to their neighbours, or rent with intestine commotions, or plunged into hopeless distress, or confederated for the violation of the common rights of mankind, according to the predominance of each of these three principles. But as the selfish spirit has always prevailed, even the republics of Greece, Italy, and Asia-Minor, the most renowned for urbanity and virtue, have made only a transient appearance of true glory, like spots of azure in a cloudy sky, and have fallen at last a prey to that evil nature, which is the degradation misery and punishment of man. But human institutions
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must necessarily partake of the infirmities of human beings ; and all states, like those that compose them, have the principles of growth and dissolution in their own frame : like men, they are born and die, have their commencement and their period ; they arise, like light, from the darkness of poverty, to temperance, industry, liberty, valour, power, conquest, glory, opulence, and that is their summit ; from whence they decline to ease, sensuality, venality, corruption, cowardice, imbecility, infamy, slavery, and irremediable perdition. The only appearance of a permanent government, was the Theocracy of the Jews ; till, through the extreme depravity of nature, the people became impatient and uneasy under the restraints of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, and would not rest till the constitution was changed into the regal dominion of ignorant, selfish, and arbitrary man ; when declining from one degree of evil to a greater, they were at length scattered over the face of the whole earth ; in which unnaturalized condition they still remain, individual monuments of the punishment due to revolters from the eternal laws of righteousness and beneficence.

From despotic government, the understanding and the heart of man recoil as from darkness and death. It is essentially evil in its nature, and wholly and unchangeably evil in all its effects; and, therefore, in a political and moral view, it can be considered in no other light, than as an enormous whirlpool situated between a monarchy and a republic, to which both have a disposition to tend, and in which both may be swallowed up and lost for ever. But in a review of all human governments, where shall we find such an harmonious union and just counterpoise of the regal aristocratical and democratical powers, as that by preventing all preponderation each derives reciprocal strength from the other two, and the freedom and peace of every individual is essentially included in the liberty and safety of the whole; but in the Constitution of Great-Britain? To the youth, therefore, of Great-Britain, of every class and condition raised above the labouring peasant, who may possibly be contented with the protection of his property, liberty, and life, without inquiring into the source from whence that protection flows; the principles of this wonderful Constitution, and the high duties it requires, cannot be too clearly explained. On
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those who enter into the profession of arms, the inculcation of this knowledge is indispensably necessary, that they may not only learn what a treasury of blessings they have to defend, but why and how it ought to be defended; and that their dearest blood will always be nobly shed, in the protection of this illustrious offspring of the most improved human wisdom and the most exalted human virtue. As I have already had the honour of being entrusted with the care of some, who by their birth and fortune may be entitled to a share in the legislature of this country, the highest trust that can be confided by man to man; and as from a consciousness of my own principles and views, and the growing favour of a generous people, I have reason to hope for repeated instances of the same distinction; it has been thought expedient, as a necessary part of the system of education that I adopt, to close the following observations with a short sketch of the nature, privileges, and principles of the British Constitution, drawn according to the best of my judgment from the ablest writers on the subject.

In the perusal of history, curiosity urges us impatiently on with the rapidity of events, and we are wholly engrossed by the emotions of pleasure and disgust, of joy and sorrow, excited by the revolutions of great states, and the characters and fortunes of the principal agents engaged in effecting or opposing them. But in a review of the knowledge thus acquired, either for the occasional or general application of it to the purposes of life and duty, when the mind is at leisure to trace back effects to their causes, to follow the progress of virtue and vice, and mark their gradual influence on individuals, and from individuals to the community; it then discovers the common source of that almost boundless variety of design, action, character and event, which history has displayed; and finds, that not only the various customs and institutions civil and religious, and the different systems political and moral of different states, but their rise, establishment, grandeur, declension, and ruin, are to be ascribed to the nature and power of education. This raised the petty state of Athens to its amazing height of power and glory; this preserved in vigour the Spartan commonwealth for more than seven hundred years, when Philopoemen subverted the institutions

tions of Lycurgus, and abolished the antient laws for the instruction and formation of youth; this made Rome the wonder of the world: and to the neglect or perversion of this, thro' the depravity of nature, it has been owing, that the wisdom, virtue, valour, and power, of Athens, Sparta, and Rome, live now only in idea.

In all well regulated states, the first step in the education of youth is to make them good men, just and benevolent members of the universal society of mankind; and the next, to qualify them for the highest usefulness to their own country; to inform their understandings with that kind of knowledge, and to apply their talents to those objects and pursuits, that will render them most serviceable in the support of the government under which they are born, and on the strength and prosperity of which their own welfare as individuals necessarily depends.

But great as the object of education is, as the source from whence all the happiness or misery of the rising generation must flow, it seems not, in modern policy, to engage that care and attention

tion which the vast importance of it requires. Though the principles and forms of education in every state may have a general correspondence with the principles of government, yet if some discrimination is not observed, and particular genius and particular disposition directed and applied to those employments to which they have a prevailing bent, and for which they are peculiarly fitted, disorder and weakness will be the consequence: the individual must suffer, from a consciousness of inability to discharge the duties to which he has been called; and when, from a department of importance, a qualified member is excluded by the appointment of one unqualified, the state must also suffer, not only by a failure in the duties of that department, but in the loss of two members whose talents have not been suitably applied.

The same form of what is called a learned and liberal education in this country, is adopted for the youth of all ranks and conditions, let their distinguishing genius, their prevailing turn and disposition, and their future prospects in life, be ever so various. A boy totally ignorant of the rudiments of his own language, and scarcely able to read it with propriety, is sent to school

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to learn Latin and Greek, where seven years at least are spent in acquiring only a moderate degree of skill in those languages : after this he is transmitted to one of the universities, where he passes four years more in procuring a more competent knowledge of Latin and Greek, and in learning the rudiments of logic, natural philosophy, astronomy, metaphysics, and the heathen mythology and morality : at the age of twenty or a little more, he perhaps takes a degree in the arts, and then education is finished.

When education is said to be finished, it is natural to expect, that a young man is completely qualified to fill and sustain some useful character on the public stage : and yet it will be difficult to say, what single important duty of society he is able to discharge, what single office as a citizen he is qualified to execute. It may, indeed, be asked with Seneca, where are the promised fruits of this learned and liberal education, that has swallowed up so many of those important years that give to future life its form and tincture ? whose errors will it diminish, whose passions will it restrain, whom will it make more brave, more just, more liberal ? Excepting the lawyer, the physician, and the
divine,

divine, who may convert a small part of these rudiments of science to their own and the public advantage in their different professions, the youth thus educated will be excluded from service, and obtain no establishment for future life ; and he who, after so many years laborious application, finds the knowledge he has acquired of no immediate use, is too strongly tempted to forget it all.

But this mode of education has been so long and so generally adopted for the gentleman, that it is even stiled the gentleman's education. The character of the gentleman is, indeed, the most respectable and important in this country, and therefore demands the greatest care in the formation of it. In public life, gentlemen are born to assist either in composing the councils of the nation, or in conducting her fleets and her armies ; to be the bulwarks of the constitution ; to sustain parts that require the continual exertion of wisdom, fortitude, and the most highly improved talents : and, in private life, to contribute by study to intellectual and moral improvement, to be depositaries of upright principles and pure manners, illustrious examples of temperance, justice, benevolence and

and piety, diffusing order and happiness all around them. But what benefit does this education produce to the gentleman, if, so far from being thought compleat, it is not considered merely as the ground-work of a more enlarged and more active cultivation? After the restraint of so many years in the school or the college, the mind is too apt to exult in a fancied deliverance from discipline and duty; and where amplitude of fortune and the false indulgence of parents unhappily concur, it seldom fails either to hide itself in idleness and amusement, or to seek distinction only from the indulgence of brutal appetite, and the exploits of boisterous passions. If then the gentleman, when he leaves the school or the college, does not truly consider the education he has received merely as the conductress to much higher attainments, and firmly resolve to devote himself to the acquisition of more enlarged knowledge and the rules of a stricter discipline, either in the study of laws and government in the most extensive and liberal form, or, if his spirit and genius lead him to it, in the profession of arms, till he is called forth to public service; his education, so far from being either honourable or useful, will only help to render him more base and wretched
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in himself, and more disgraceful and injurious to his country.

I have here connected, not only the character, but the most enlarged education of a gentleman, with the profession of arms; and it will be found to require all the intellectual improvements implied in that character, not less than all its graces and virtues.

Many groundless prejudices and weak and unworthy practices have concurred, to render that profession in some degree odious. In all modern free states, like this, the common censure describes it as a necessary evil. But in what light did it appear at Athens, Sparta, and Rome? in the zenith of their glory, did they derive less honour from their valour in the field, than from their wisdom and virtue in the senate? But, in their idea, valour, wisdom, and virtue, were the three inseparable constituent qualities of true greatness: and the retreat of Xenophon, the defence of Thermopylæ by Leonidas, and the generous and seasonable interposition of Camillus, have in all succeeding times received the tribute of praise which they demanded, not only as instances of genuine valour,

lour, but of the highest skill and address in the art of war. How unsafe would stand the noble fabric of the British Constitution, though so deeply founded and so many ages in erecting, if the aid of equal valour, and equal skill in the art of war, was wanting for its protection and support !

The censure on the profession of arms as a necessary evil, admitting it to be just, only adds strength to the many reasons arising from the profession itself, for enforcing the strictest discipline on the student, for training him to the habitual love and practice of order, decency, and virtue. But is it known, that a soldier ever dared to plead his profession as an exemption from the obligations of duty in civil and social life ? Are intemperance, injustice, cruelty, profaneness, and impiety, less cognizable by the laws, less culpable, and less disgraceful, in him, than in another man ? If the private men should happen at any time to be guilty of tumult and outrage, it could arise only from ignorant presumption, and would be immediately checked and severely punished : if officers are habitually addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and lewdness,

ness, they dishonour their character not less than by cowardice.

But the profession of arms is also censured as an idle profession, that requires little intellectual ability, and less application. Impressed with this character, parents, after many fruitless trials of the uncultivated talents of their sons, are apt to make choice of the army as a sure retreat for ignorance and indolence; and if the lads have but that kind of spirit and address, which, in its rude state, must approach much nearer impudence than intelligent and manly intrepidity, they suppose them possessed of the essential requisite in a soldier, and that a suit of regimentals will hide all little defects. The young men themselves help forward this gross and most pernicious delusion: unaccustomed to look beyond the fancied importance of external qualities, and the glitter of external appearance, they are captivated with the habiliments of an officer, with the respect that is shewn him in all companies, and with the unreserved freedom of his own behaviour, which, if not governed by that politeness which is the pure effect of sensibility and knowledge, must be worse than the rudeness of a savage; and they are also captivated

tivated with an idea of the authority they expect to be invested with over the private men, not reflecting, that they themselves must be subject to authority, and that the degree which is to devolve upon them, if not maintained upon right principles, will be in continual danger of being abused.

But are these notions and practices calculated to change that which is censured as positive evil, even into negative good? Or rather, have not these and other similar notions and practices continually operating upon and giving strength to each other, contributed to increase the disgrace that has fallen upon a profession, in which excellence cannot be attained, without the concurrence of the most highly cultivated understanding, with the noblest principles and the strictest manners?

In all ages, and all nations, the profession of arms has at least been deemed the profession of honour: in some nations, indeed, whose form of government was monarchical, it has not been capable of a higher principle; and that has served to raise it to great glory: but, in the British nation, it is the profession of honour,

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only as it is animated by the most generous public virtue ; and whether the most generous public virtue can be attained, without that enlarged cultivation, and those principles, habits, and acts, that constitute the intelligent and generous virtue of a private individual, let the history of mankind determine. By this subordination, however, the peculiar rights of honour are not in the least degree violated : though she is only the attendant of virtue, on whom her very life depends, yet she may boast of ornamental service, and that with her own native delicacy and grace she can soften the austerity and even adorn the dignity of her noble mistress. As much, therefore, as the British government is superior to all other human governments that ever had a being, so much ought a British soldier to rise above the character of every other soldier, in the acquisition of all useful knowledge, in discipline, in military skill, in self-denial, in the patient endurance of toil and hardship, in valour, in generosity, in love of country, and every other intellectual and moral accomplishment.

The degrading notions and practices I have been speaking of, would, however, scarcely
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have had a being, but for a principle of a much higher original, and of a more authoritative and extensive influence, than the misconceptions of parents and the effeminate ambition of ignorant young men. In forming the British army, it has been too much the prevailing maxim, that practice alone is sufficient for the instruction of a soldier; that he will learn the business of his various stations, as he advances from one rank of service to another; and that he will be qualified for the discharge of his numerous and important duties, by being called to the exercise of them. Hence have arisen all the false notions that ever prevailed of the sufficiency of bodily strength and bodily exercises, to the neglect of preparatory education, and the exclusion of intellectual and moral qualifications.

In early times, indeed, when this nation had few foreign connections, and little foreign territory; when she depended for protection on her own situation, and the superior strength of her fleets; when her people were soldiers only by accident, and for a short duration; and an extensive military institution would have appeared rather useless, and in some respects dangerous; such a maxim might have admitted of

some apology. But even then, so far as the people were required to be soldiers, so far was a previous knowledge of the art of war indispensably necessary; their innate bravery could effect much, but bravery without skill will not always insure success: and the nation would have thought herself unable to maintain the dominion of the seas, and unsafe in the protection of her coasts, if her numerous naval officers had not been compleatly qualified, for that service which has rendered them superlatively eminent, by an early, well cultivated, and profound knowledge of the theory of navigation in its utmost comprehension.

But new and different states and situations, grown into establishment, necessarily require new and different maxims and pursuits; and as Great-Britain, by her multiplied connections and enlarged empire, is brought near the condition of a continental power, why the officers of her army should not emulate the officers of the continent in that military skill which has rendered them so illustrious and so formidable, the warmest advocate for practice to the exclusion of theory will find it difficult to assign a reason. Is there any thing in nature from
which

which the boasted superiority of French officers over British can arise, but this rejection of preparatory theory from British military education? A Briton is as brave, and as intelligent, as a Frenchman: he is less volatile and desultory, indeed, and less quick at invention; but he is more patient, and more persevering in the improvement of suggested knowledge: he has a more generous sense of the obligations of duty in civil and political life; and a much higher principle, to carry him through all the difficulties and obstructions of the greatest enterprises. That he should fall short, therefore, only in one attainment of such great importance to his honour and welfare, must be wholly ascribed to a want of resolution to break the chains that blind and obstinate custom has imposed upon him.

The minds of youth, if suffered to rove at large without employment, and not habitually turned, by repeated exercises, to the pursuit of good, will necessarily decline into evil: and shall a candidate for the army be more ripe for any mischief that ignorance and ungoverned passion can suggest, because he has had less culture than another? And what culture can

be more fuitable to his views and duties, than of that science, and of those principles and habits, on which all his future excellence and usefulness depends? One man may be honest, though destitute of dexterity or learning; another may be learned, without corporal or mental strength; and another may succeed in various employments, without either courage, wisdom, or virtue: but a soldier requires the united force of all these qualities, and the want of any one of them must render his character defective.

In most manual arts, and in some sciences, a stated course of several years is allotted for the instruction of students, when theory and practice mutually contribute to their improvement; and he will be found the greatest proficient, who has established his practice on the most accurate and best digested theory: and though, in the effusions of that esteem which is always felt for eminent talents, it may be said, that a man is born an orator, a poet, a painter, and even a soldier; yet it is certain, that correctness and great mastery are derived, not from nature but art, not from genius but study.

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It is the observation of Folard, that “ war
 “ is a science for the ingenious, and a calling
 “ only for the ignorant :” but, as a science, it
 cannot possibly be acquired, without a conti-
 nual study and application of the best formed
 rules and precepts, a combination of all possi-
 ble events in their minutest complications, and
 conclusions deduced therefrom and treasured up
 in the mind ready for service : whereas in prac-
 tice alone, though enlarged by the experience
 of many campaigns, the mind must remain
 blind to the event of numberless operations,
 and always liable to be disconcerted by the ca-
 pricious turns of fortune.

But, between theory and practice, when
 placed in competition, let history determine
 which has the superior excellence ; and history
 has given many examples of great generals sud-
 denly produced from the fruitful source of an-
 teriour study, but of none who left their know-
 ledge to be acquired solely by practice. Alex-
 ander, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Scipio, and many
 more, stepped at once from theory to the chief
 command of great armies, and almost as soon
 as they appeared were known in the characters
 of commanders and victors. That the greatest

success, and the most useful instruction, may arise solely from the operations of the mind on a rational and well digested knowledge acquired by study, the examples of Zisca, general of the Hussites, and of Count Pagan, are incontrovertible proofs: both, in the prime of life, furnished the most important lessons in the art of war, the one by his victories, and the other by his systems of fortification; both were blind, and, therefore, had theory chiefly for their guide. Instances like these, even in barbarous times, must have evinced the superiority of theory over practice, when placed in a comparative view.

The ancients, not less eminent for a profound knowledge of the mysteries of war than the moderns, were more convinced of the vast importance of preparatory theory, of the absolute defect of practice singly, and of the indispensable necessity of both in continual union. They established public schools for instructing their youth in this science by rule and precept illustrated by practice; and those republics that could not bear the expence of a military institution in its fullest extent, encouraged masters by honorary rewards to read stated lectures on
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the subject : and thus, in the leisure of peace, and by an extensive theory, the Greeks and Romans prepared themselves for war. Xanthippus and Gylippus, two subaltern officers of Sparta, illustrated their training in this form and brought lasting honour to themselves and their country, the one by gaining the battle of Tunis, in Africa, against Regulus, and the other by saving Syracuse.

But convinced as I am of the necessity of the most highly improved theory, it is far from my idea that it should ever be separated from practice : I have been arguing only against those, who are bent upon the disunion, upon repudiating theory with indelible disgrace. I consider theory only as anticipated practice, and practice as the natural illustration and proof of theory ; and the warmest advocates for theory have never considered it in any other light : Xenophon says, in many passages of his works, that “ every thing must be referred to action.” They are like light and substance, irradiating and giving strength and beauty to each other ; like the soul and body of the art of war, whose dissolution must be succeeded by darkness and death.

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I will even venture to assert, that the continual application of theory to practice, is more necessary in military science, than in any other. This forms the criterion, by which alone the different attainments of young students can be justly estimated; and most honour is due to him, who has secured his advances step by step, confirmed his theory by an accurate practice, and acquired a facility of applying his knowledge to real occasions, by continually proving and illustrating the truth of it by those that are feigned. The ultimate end of war is singularly great and important; and the attainment of it depends upon means various in their nature, and almost endless in their combinations: and from the opposition of art to art, and of strength to strength, added to the intervention of uncontrollable natural causes, such new, sudden, and critical revolutions must frequently arise, as require the immediate exercise and application, not only of all the fortitude, but also of all the knowledge of which the human mind is capable.

In the course of the preceding observations, it is hoped that the principal points I have endeavoured

deavoured to illustrate are evinced, and it is sufficiently evident,

That as mankind, with respect to the natural powers of the understanding, and the great tendencies of the will, are nearly upon a level, the diversified distinctions of intellectual compass, and of vicious and virtuous manners, that have appeared among them either as individuals or as formed into states and kingdoms, are to be ascribed to the nature and power of education :

That no state can long subsist, let its form of government be what it will, if the education of its youth is not peculiarly adapted to the nature, end, and principle of that government :

That, in the British state, education implies the attainment of all that enlarged knowledge and generous virtue, by which its constitution of government has been formed, and by which alone it can be supported ; and that, therefore, a British soldier, whose profession is not valuable for its own sake but for its suberviency to the welfare of the state, is in a more peculiar manner bound to make such attainment,

ment, lest that which is intended as a benefit should be perverted into an injury :

That a British soldier, to answer the ends of his institution, requires the superaddition of the highest excellence in his own profession considered as a science :

And that excellence in military science cannot possibly be attained, without the knowledge of the most extensive theory, illustrated and confirmed by the continual application of it to practice.

Hence, though military education will naturally divide itself into the two branches of the exercises of the body, and the operations of the mind ; yet it is to be understood, that such a degree of corrective intelligence and virtue must always accompany even mere bodily exercises, as will keep them within due limits, and improve their subserviency to the great ends of a soldier's duty. Thus a robust constitution that is fitted by nature to bear hardship and fatigue, must be animated by a love of hardship, that despises ease and indulgence as unworthy of a man ; and inured chiefly to that kind of hardship

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ship to which military service is most exposed, such as long marches, extreams of heat and cold, coarse food, hard lodging, and short and interrupted sleep.

A young man brought up in the prevailing delicacy of the times, will never make a foldier, without such an effort of virtuous resolution as the spirit of the times does not greatly encourage us to expect. Much, however, may be done by gradual advances: he must relinquish the amusements of the town; decline the pleasures of the table for the sake of plain food; abandon the refinements and fopperies of dress; love cleanliness only for the sake of decency and health, and the distinctions of apparel only for the respect due to his profession; and thus, by repeated acts of self-denial in personal accommodations, he may acquire counter-habits, and give life to that manly virtue which an effeminate education had suppressed.

The principal articles of bodily exercise, are dancing, fencing, swimming, riding.

Dancing gives grace to all the motions of the body, ease and elegance of manner and address,

dress, and that manly confidence which even the best characters require for their deportment in public life. But here, in conformity to the pervading principle, dancing must have its limits: if it is practised merely as a diversion, if it is loved only as an accomplishment for attracting female notice, if too much time is devoted to it, and if it gives birth to affectation and grimace, it had better not be learnt. Much, however, both of its true use, and its perversion, depends upon the choice of a master.

But fencing, for its manifold advantages, can admit only of one limitation. As an exercise, it produces great muscular strength, and is peculiarly adapted to improve health and invigorate the constitution; as an art, it gives quickness of sight, agility of motion, a martial air, a firm and graceful attitude, and such a knowledge of the structure of the human body as will direct the practitioner in the nicest application of its strength. But, notwithstanding these advantages, it is objected to by some, as inspiring too much confidence, and consequently producing competitions and quarrels, which, from a false notion of honour, end in the pernicious practice of duelling. There is, indeed,

indeed, some apparent reason for charging fencing with this evil; which, however, upon examination, will be found to arise solely from the perverted notions of honour, gallantry, and courage, inculcated in some schools; and must, therefore, not be imputed to the art itself, but to the abuse of it. But here the restraining principle will interpose for the safety of the pupil, for keeping his skill in fencing within due limits, and directing it to its proper ends. He must be taught, that true valour is cool and patient, not apt to take offence, willing to hear the pleas of reason, and most ready to forgive upon the least acknowledgement; that if, after repeated provocations, insolence is not to be repressed, and the quarrel must be decided by the barbarous and superstitious custom of single combat, the decision cannot be made by any weapons fitted for the destruction of life, without infringing the laws both of God and man, which have been always united for its protection; that though, as a soldier, it is proper he should be expert in the use of the sword, yet, as a British soldier, his own sword is hallowed in the cause of virtue and the public; and that neither his sword nor his life are at any time at his own disposal. His mind must be strongly im-

impressed with the just and noble motives that influenced the conduct of the Roman, who, upon being urged to single combat, made this answer to the challenger: “ To-morrow we
 “ are both to face the enemy ; let it then be
 “ decided, which of us has most courage, and
 “ is the best citizen : for remember, friend,
 “ that our lives are not our own, but our
 “ country’s.”

If we look no further than the trifling punctilios on which the practice of duelling is founded, and the solemn ceremonial with which it is conducted, it is the most Quixotic absurdity that can disgrace the understanding of man ; and, in this view, as those devoted to the practice of it are less insensible to the poignancy of ridicule, than to the rebukes of conscience, it is to be wished, that the wit of mankind was united to laugh it out of the world. But it is born of such evil passions, and produces such horrible effects, as to demand the utmost exertion of legal authority for its total extirpation. For an imaginary affront given to imaginary dignity, substantial and lasting disgrace and misery are incurred ; families are plunged into irremediable distress, the authority of government

vernment is daringly infringed, and the unalienable prerogative of the Great Author of Existence impiously invaded. The poison of this infernal spirit has, indeed, no limits: it can so transform the understanding and the heart of man, that the wretch who has corrupted his friend's wife, can think coolly and deliberately of killing the husband; and hope, by fighting a duel, to justify his abused character, and render both adultery and murder honourable. If there is an extravagance of folly to equal this extravagance of wickedness, it is that of the much injured sufferer, in putting his own life upon a level with the life of the abandoned aggressor.

Though it is always desirable to secure obedience by the pure influence of truth benevolence and piety, rather than by the restraint of positive law; yet young minds, in the ardour of high courage, and controlled by those dazzling but deceitful notions of honour which folly has introduced and custom only has established, may stand in need of some external check: military students, therefore, must be informed, that so far is the violation of the laws against duelling necessary to prevent an

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imputation of cowardice, that, as soldiers, in whom cowardice in the time of action is punished with death, the laws against duelling are strictly enforced upon them by the following clause in the nineteenth article of war :

“ Nor shall any officer or soldier upbraid
 “ another for refusing a challenge; since, ac-
 “ cording to these our orders, they do but the
 “ duty of soldiers, who ought to subject
 “ themselves to discipline. And we do ac-
 “ quit and discharge all men who have quar-
 “ rels offered, or challenges sent to them, of
 “ all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage in
 “ their obedience hereunto: and whosoever
 “ shall upbraid them, or offend in this case,
 “ shall be punished as a challenger.”

Swimming, besides its natural power of conducing to the refreshment and health of the body, is so necessary to a soldier, who must often pass the seas, engage near great rivers, and sometimes cross them when bridges are not ready or cannot be used, that his common preservation, not less than the discharge of his duty, requires an expertness in it which frequent practice only can give. The Romans

considered it as such an indispensable article in an improved education, as to rank it with literature; and it was the common censure on one poorly educated and good for nothing, "that he had neither learnt to read nor to swim." It was no wonder, therefore, that, with so many additional inducements, the soldiers at Rome, after the business of the day, should make it their constant practice to bathe in the Tiber.

The great dramatic poet of this nation, who knew in what high estimation the art of swimming was held by the Romans, and that their greatest men, especially if they were warriors, were the greatest proficient in it, has described with his peculiar force and beauty a contest in swimming between Caius Cassius and Julius Cæsar; and to intimate that it was a practice as customary among them as contests in other athletic exercises, he has most judiciously divested it of all parade and ceremony, and represented it as the sudden effect of a sudden challenge given and accepted in sport. Cassius himself relates it, among other instances, to Brutus, to heighten the contrast he was drawing between the inferiority of Cæsar's

personal talents, and the ambitious and dangerous designs he was forming against his country.

I was born free as Cæsar, so were you;
 We both have fed as well; and we can both
 Endure the winter's cold, as well as he.
 For once upon a raw and gusty day,
 The troubled Tiber chafing with his shores,
 Cæsar says to me, "Dar'st thou, Cassius, now
 "Leap in with me into this angry flood,
 "And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
 Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
 And bid him follow; so, indeed, he did.
 The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it
 With lusty sinews; throwing it aside,
 And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
 But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,
 Cæsar cried, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink!"
 I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
 Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulders
 The old Anchises bear; so, from the waves of Tiber
 Did I the tired Cæsar.—

Upon this passage Mr. Theobald has inserted the following note, which he ascribes to Mr. Warburton: "This may, perhaps, appear a
 "very odd amusement for two of the greatest
 "men in Rome. But that this was an usual
 "exercise for the nobility, that delighted in
 "the hardy use of arms, and were not ener-
 "vated,

“ vated, appears from this passage of Horace,
 “ book 1. ode 8.

“ *Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere?*

“ Upon which Hermannus Figulus makes
 “ this comment : *Natare. Nam Romæ primæ*
 “ *adoleſcentiæ juvenes, præter cæteras gym-*
 “ *naſticas diſciplinas, etiam NATARE diſcebant,*
 “ *UT AD BELLI MUNERA FIRMIORES*
 “ *APTIORESQUE ESSENT.* And he puts us in
 “ mind from Suetonius, how expert a ſwimmer
 “ Julius Cæſar was.” See Theobald’s Shake-
 ſpeare, edit. 1767, vol. vii, p. 10, 11.

The benefit of riding for the preſervation and improvement of health, is univerſally acknowledged. The particular form of this exerciſe more immediately neceſſary for a ſoldier, is the expert management of the great horſe; a proper training in which will qualify him to act with greater uſefulneſs, and more perſonal ſafety, in various emergencies. The military ſervice of riding, however, ſeems rather limited by its encumbrances: the ſucceſs of a ſudden enterpriſe may require the inſtant diſpatch of new orders; and it is grievous to think it muſt fail, becauſe a horſe is not ready with all his accoutrements, and there is no rider to back him

without them : if, therefore, military students, like the Numidians of former times, and the Tartars and Morattoes of the present, were to accustom themselves to mount, and leap, and ride at full speed, without a saddle, they would at least have the satisfaction of knowing, that they are qualified for any service that depends on celerity and instant execution.

The use of this exercise in hunting, is also of singular advantage ; but the regulating principle must confine it to the great purposes of military science. It forms insensibly a most necessary quality in a soldier, the coup d'oeil, which consists in judging so precisely of a country, as to tell, at first view, the number of troops which the whole or any assigned part of it will contain, the best situation for an encampment, and the best possible dispositions for the order of battle.

It is from hunting that the Indians in America have derived their chief knowledge of the art of war ; and it has made them compleat masters of the coup d'oeil, and enabled them to contrive uncommon ambuscades, safe for themselves and dangerous to their enemies.

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The great Cyrus, remarkable for the frequent use of this exercise, pursued it more for his instruction than his pleasure. In his expedition against the Armenians, he sent Chryfontas to possess the avenues of the country; and in his orders for that service, he alludes to the stratagems used in hunting, and supposes in his officer that ability to judge of the country which much hunting had given him:

“ Consider,” says he, “ as in hunting,
 “ that we are to be the finders, and that you
 “ stand at the nets : remember, therefore,
 “ that the passages must be stopped, before
 “ the beast is roused ; and that they who are
 “ appointed to that station, ought to be con-
 “ cealed, if they would not turn off every
 “ thing that takes its course towards them.
 “ Do not march through the woods and such
 “ difficult places ; but order your guides to
 “ lead you the easiest way, unless there be one
 “ that is abundantly shorter ; for, to an army,
 “ the easiest way is the quickest.”

Where hunting is not often practicable, riding, and even walking, for the sole purpose of acquiring the coup d'oeil, must be fre-

quently used. In cultivated countries there is a general conformity of disposition and situation; and he that has been used to judge of small spaces, will easily be led to judge of greater; so that, with a little aid from mathematics, he will soon be qualified, upon the first sight of a new country, to determine, with precision, the extent of a plain, the course of a river, and the altitude of a hill, and even of two hundred different situations for an army afforded in a space of near two leagues square, to point out which is the best. Instances are to be found in history, of many armies saved by this faculty of nice discernment, and of many lost by the want of it. In the war with the Samnites, Cornelius the Roman Consul was repulsed in a valley, and in the greatest danger of being surrounded and totally cut off; when Decius the tribune, upon an accurate observation of the country, discovered an eminence and the avenues that led to it, and by securing a retreat saved the army from perdition,

Many other exercises for the improvement of agility and strength may be introduced, and tennis, cricket, foot-ball, wrestling, and running,

ning, occasionally take their turns: but those are to be used the least, and for the shortest space, that are only mere diversions; that have the least tendency to promote that kind of activity and strength which a soldier most requires, and the least connexion with his advancement in military science. Whatever is done for the sake of inspiring true courage; particularly, what is done from a love of hardship and fatigue, such as traversing rugged surfaces, penetrating thick woods, and climbing steep and difficult ascents, especially if the mind is all the while usefully employed, cannot fail of producing lasting benefit. The views of the ancients in the institution of their Olympic and Pythic games, extended as much to the soldier as the man; and the many noble examples which they contributed to form, should have engaged the moderns in some public institutions of the same kind, that while the bodies of their youth were exercised and strengthened, their minds might have been delivered from effeminacy and sloth, and fitted for the highest attainments in wisdom and virtue.

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We proceed now to the operations of the mind, which, indeed, have an unlimited scope; but as some attainments are more adapted to the views and duties of a foldier than of other men; as some fubjects of ftudy require a greater degree of his peculiar application, and others lefs; it is neceffary to direct his progrefs with a judicious difcrimination, that every part of the time allotted for preparatory education, which grows more valuable in proportion as it grows more fhort, may be advantageoufly employed.

The firft and moft important object in the cultivation of his mind, is to eftablifh thofe principles of moral truth and duty, and form thofe habits of fevere virtue, that will fupport the dignity of his character in all fituations, and render his actions not lefs honourable and ufeful in the ftillnefs of peace, than in the activity and bufle of war. This is to be effected only by gradual advances; and therefore muft never be out of fight, but constantly accompany his progrefs in fcience, as the only ground upon which the advantages of fcience can be permanently fecured. With this, where brilliancy and vigour of natural parts are wanting,

ing, an inferior degree of skill in his profession will preserve the honour and usefulness of his character; but, without it, the higher his attainments in science are, he will only be rendered more insolent, more presumptuous, and more mischievous.

But as military students are designed, not for learned casuists, but for accomplished officers and useful men, this great business is to be pursued more by practice than by study, more by the vigour of the heart than the speculations of the head. His common course of reading, of which some notice is hereafter to be taken, will furnish him with many instances of the lasting influence both of good and evil principles and habits; and a little superintendence will assist him in the just and discriminate application of them to himself: but the great foundation of wisdom and virtue is to be laid in his own heart, and it consists in self-denial. Mental not less than corporal vigour depends on the ability to bear hardship; the love and desire of this ability will promote the attainment of it; and when by repeated efforts controlling the strong tendency of the will to ease, indulgence and pleasure for the sake of a strict

strict and honourable conformity to discipline and duty, a vigorous habit of self-denial is once established, the mind will be fitted for all the various scenes and offices of duty in the higher walks of life, and be always able to repel the influence of the three great corrupters of intellectual and moral excellence, gluttony, wine, and wanton women. Reasoning minds have not found it difficult to trace back all the virtues that can adorn the soldier and the man, to self-denial as their common source; the very ideas of temperance, patience, justice, and even liberality, in their utmost latitude, being apparently involved in it. And, indeed, he that has obtained the mastery of his appetites and passions by continual resistance, is in no danger of being tempted into excess and riot: he that has cheerfully submitted to voluntary hardship for the love of order and due obedience, will not be apt to murmur at severe service in the order of military duty, nor at disappointment and distress in the order of providence: he that can easily surrender his own alienable rights for the common good, is not likely to appropriate the alienable rights of others; and knowing life and liberty to be unalienable rights in himself, he will hold them
sacred

facred and inviolate in all mankind : he that can despise ease, indolence, and pleasure, will set no value on the means of gratifying them ; and therefore, will look on the possession of wealth, not as a gift for his own use, but as a deposit for the reward of indigent merit and the alleviation of helpless wretchedness.

Fortitude, however, that distinguishing characteristic of a good foldier, is the genuine offspring of self-denial ; and if it does not include in it all other virtues, is, at least, their best protection and support. Insensibility of danger cannot constitute this character ; it knows all that it has to suffer, and fears nothing but the abatement of its own vigour : it is a calm undisturbed unchangeable resolution of persevering in duty, whatever danger lies in the way, or whatever evil may be the consequence ; and is, therefore, the irreconcilable and determined enemy of vice, in every form both of violence and allurements. No people, however renowned for courage, can long preserve their character, when once corruption has broken down the boundaries of duty, dissolved the restraint of discipline, and
given

given humour appetite and passion their own scope.

In this kingdom, where moral science has been more cultivated than in any other, the student, out of the vast variety before him, may be assisted in the selection of such truths, as will illustrate the principle of self-denial, and by convincing his judgment confirm him in the practice of it ; and if, as indispensably necessary to compleat his system of duty, his attention is turned to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, he will find, that the same self-denial which he has been practising as the sure ground of wisdom and virtue, is made the sole foundation of every exalted attainment that Christianity requires.

It may, indeed, be objected by some, that it is rather an impropriety to recommend Christianity to the notice of a soldier, when Christianity is supposed to discountenance war as repugnant to its heavenly spirit. The same objection, however, from the precepts of Christianity, lies equally as strong against the use of oaths, and, by implication in the nature of its spirit, against a boundless commerce,
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and against litigations in courts of law, as against war. But, in the present imperfect state of things, the people in Christian nations practise oaths, devote themselves to the extension of commerce, and harass and distress one another by obstinate and expensive lawsuits, even more than they engage in war; and, therefore, in the present imperfect state of things, a soldier who is trained up only for the occasional service of his country, is not more exempted from the obligations of Christianity on account of his profession, than he who practises oaths, or he who devotes himself to trade, or he who goes to law. It is not necessary, indeed, that he should perplex his mind with the various speculative opinions, that divide, inflame, and nearly disqualify its various professors: let him consider it only as a dispensation of Mercy from Supreme Wisdom and Goodness, for the restoration of all mankind to the original knowledge benevolence and dignity of their nature; let him make its precepts, as much as possible, the rule of his practice, and its promises the foundation of his hope; and as a soldier, who ought to value obedience more than life, he will always be the wiser, the better, and the happier, for his religion.

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Upon this foundation, and with the progress of the noble structure to be raised upon it, the student may securely advance in the attainment of all necessary science: and of languages, which ought to be the earliest object of his notice, the French and German are the chief. The French language, though inferior in strength and beauty to most other modern languages, yet by the insuppressible vanity and insinuating policy of the people is become the general medium of communication throughout the civilized world; and as Germany has long been the common theatre of war, the language of that country has the next claim to the attention of a British Soldier, who, as he will stand in continual need of both, for occasional intercourse with prisoners spies and peasants, and for general consultation and converse with foreign officers, must learn to speak them colloquially as well as with force and elegance: and if, to these, he can add the Spanish and Italian, his personal advantages will be improved, and his military usefulness much enlarged. These, as living languages, will be more easily and more effectually attained, by constant conversation and the frequent perusal of good writers, than by the

the rules of grammar. The knowledge of grammar, however, that he has brought with him from school, it would be folly to discard, if, without laborious study that will rob him of his time, it can be advantageously applied to the languages he is learning, and chiefly to his own, which merits his highest respect and most assiduous cultivation. So also, if, by a singular proficiency in early education, a young gentleman is able to read the Latin and Greek historians in the original, it is a qualification too commendable not to be preserved: he must only beware of making it the ground of self-admiration, of a neglect of better knowledge, and of a supercilious contempt of his comrades; for as translation has long been industriously and wisely employed, and as a Soldier is in quest of the knowledge of things and not of words, all the knowledge he requires he will find abundantly supplied, either in English, French, or German.

This attainment of language, like that of generous virtue, will also be progressive, and accompany the student through the whole course of his education. The articles of science

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that require a more distinct and separate study, may be ranged under the general heads of mathematics, the natural and civil rights of mankind, antient and modern history, and the constitution of his own country.

Mathematics, which contemplates whatever is capable of being numbered or measured, is as necessary to the soldier, as it ever was to the astronomer; it contributed no less to form a Turenne and a Vauban, than an Archimedes and a Newton. Mathematical knowledge delivers from credulity and fortifies against scepticism, restrains from rash presumption and disposes to a rational assent; and while the mind is engaged in contemplating distinct ideas, arranging beautiful forms, and adjusting the harmony of proportions, the affections are composed, the fancy restrained, the understanding fitted for still higher exercises, and the manners corrected and improved.

But though mathematical investigations have these general advantages, the military student, who is designed not for a contemplative but an active and busy life, must
generally

generally decline all that serve only for meer speculation and amusement, and confine himself chiefly to those that are immediately applicable to his various duties and employments. The occasions for the practical use of the science of numbers in military duties, are too minute and various to be recited here ; but in a System of Mathematics which I have been forming for the sole purpose of military service, and is just published, I have adapted it to all the possible situations offices and employments of an army ; by which, I trust, military students will be convinced, that excellence in their profession indispensably requires a most comprehensive knowledge of numbers, and the greatest expertness in the application of it. The same may be said of geometry, or the science of extension, the practical uses of which I have also illustrated in a variety of important instances. Upon this ground alone the student can be led to the knowledge of the nature laws and effects of motion, and moving powers ; and to the more relative sciences of fortification, tactics, and artillery.

The science of fortification is intimately connected with that of tactics, and when

rightly attained is of the utmost importance to every military man. That the great advantages to be derived from it are not obtained, must be ascribed to the general and superficial manner in which it is taught; for though the theory is very simple, yet the modern treatises, some of which have been written even by ecclesiastics, are not much calculated for its elucidation and improvement. It is customary, I know, to adopt either the system of Vauban or Coehorn, as prejudice and indolence may determine; and to confine the student to the chosen one, without pointing out the ground of preference, or assigning the reasons which determined each of those engineers to forsake the accustomed path, and strike out a new one of his own. To say, as many do, that the difference in these systems consists in the greater or less covering of the flanks, may, indeed, characterize the systems, but will not instruct the student; who, if he can produce a plan regularly drawn and well washed, and say that it is conformable to this or that system, is, together with his friends, deluded into an opinion of possessing a knowledge that he is far from having attained. It is, therefore, much safer for him, to go a little out

out of the pedantic and systematical road of what is called great fortification, and applying himself to field fortification to acquire an experimental knowledge of all the different works, and in what circumstances, and with what limitation or extension, they are to be erected and applied. The former, though comprehending the foundation, is generally learnt by rote and mere imitation; and giving least trouble, is sometimes recommended to students as the utmost extent of the art: but of the latter the mastery cannot be obtained, without a diligent and rational exercise and application of the great principles of arithmetic and geometry.

The knowledge of artillery also cannot possibly be acquired on any other ground: and yet the knowledge of artillery is not only as proper for a soldier, as the knowledge of the structure power and use of the tools he works with, is to every manual artist; but is also indispensably necessary in the attack and defence of places, which cannot be understood without it.

An expertness in drawing acquired on the principles of perspective, must give the finishing to all these studies. Without this, the student will be retarded in his own progress, and unable to impart his knowledge to others; but with it, he will not only find the illustrations of science easy and delightful to himself, but will also be capable of rendering important military service on a variety of subjects and occasions. Skill in drawing extended beyond the linear part, to plans, elevations, finished edifices, figures, landskips and composition, qualifies the artist to express with precision those ideas in a few minutes, which he could not so clearly communicate by writing or speaking in as many hours.

The sciences hitherto proposed, with all that are dependent upon and connected with them, where there is an equality of natural talents and of vigorous application, may be equally attained by the contracted and the liberal, the selfish and the benevolent, the obstinately evil and the generously good; and, therefore, to prevent their misapplication and abuse by some minds, and render them of substantial and lasting benefit to all, the student

dent must be led to the completion of that structure of intellectual and moral excellence, which is supposed to have been gradually advancing on the foundation of self-denial. Indeed, where an unremitted attention has been paid to the cultivation of that great principle, and the habit is nearly confirmed, the predominance of natural temper and disposition must be already changed, the obliquities of baseness restrained, and the aspirings of generosity animated: and when once the power of meer self-will is destroyed, whatever be the prevailing complexion and bent of nature, the path of virtue will be made easy, and few obstacles can arise that will require much labour to remove; the tyranny of appetite and passion, that darkens the understanding and contracts the heart, will be shaken off, and the mind left at full liberty to pursue the public good wherever vigilant experience and unbiassed judgement point it out, and to exemplify on all occasions that universal righteousness and beneficence which Christianity inspires. On this ground, nothing more seems to be necessary for persevering in the path of rectitude, but to be acquainted with the great lines of duty in real life, and the manifold

deviations to which they are exposed in the present complicated and imperfect state of human nature. The student, therefore, will regularly proceed to the study of civil law, separated from the refinements and sophistry of private contests, and confined to the great and liberal parts respecting the natural rights of mankind, the origin and foundation of society and government, and the general intercourse and reciprocal duties of civilized nations; and on this interesting subject, Grotius, Puffendorff, Heineccius, and Montesquieu, will give him ample information.

But, to obtain a true knowledge of human life and manners; to penetrate into the recesses of the heart; to follow the progress of virtue and vice in their minutest gradations; to estimate the power of habits; to mark the manifold diversifications of temper and character; to distinguish between essential and adventitious good; to behold the rise and fall of great states, their gradual advances to virtue and glory, and their rapid declension to vice and ruin; to discover the excellencies and defects of government; to perceive what and how much is to be sacrificed to fulfill the obligations

ligations of social civil and political duty, and what chiefly disposes to the violation of them; to form maxims of true wisdom and generous virtue for the conduct of private and public life; and, indeed, to bring to the test of example and experiment all the knowledge he can acquire from observation, from a view of others or from an intimate inspection into himself; he must study history, a science that cannot be begun too soon or continued too long.

But as history is a recital of past events that have taken place in different countries, and in a series of succeeding ages, it is proper to obtain some preparatory knowledge of chronology. The revolutions of one age often give rise to and are intimately connected with those of another; and, therefore, to prevent confusion, the student should have such a general comprehension of the whole current of time, as will enable him to trace out distinctly the connection and dependence of great events, to arrange them into distinct periods, and by adjusting the whole to some general period as the standard, to preserve it in one regular and uninterrupted series.

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In like manner, as the situation of different kingdoms with respect to each other, and their interfering views and interests, have been the fruitful source of invasions, and of long and obstinate wars that have ended in great revolutions; it is necessary to have some knowledge of the various distributions of the earth, the extent of states and kingdoms, and their subdivisions and dependences: and this makes geography another part of preparatory science for the study of history. But though a general acquaintance with the terraqueous globe, and the great changes that have happened on it from natural causes as well as from the agency of men, may be sufficient for that purpose, yet there is a dependent branch of this science in which a military student cannot be too expert, and that is an exact and even a minute knowledge of particular provinces and kingdoms. It is by this skill in topography that he will be qualified to chuse situations for encampments, direct the march of an army, dispose the attack and defence of posts and places, and order other military service, in which a rivulet, a morass, a slight eminence, a hollow way, and even the minutest circumstance of variation, is often of the greatest importance.

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It is the knowledge of the difference in the soil and external formation of countries, that determines the different mode of carrying on war, in Flanders, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain; and it was to a singular attainment of this kind, that the great Turenne chiefly owed the successes of his two last campaigns.

But though the enlargement of the mind by an intimate and practical knowledge of human nature, life, and duty, is the primary advantage of studying history, yet the military pupil is also to make a subordinate use of it in an immediate reference to his own profession; and, in this view, to study history, is to study war. Lucius Lucullus, who supported the triumphant progress of the Roman arms in the east, and defeated the great Mithridates in every encounter, derived his knowledge chiefly from reading the history of former wars, to which, it is said, he applied himself only in his passage from Rome to Asia; but this application would have produced little benefit, if he had not scrutinized and pondered every circumstance that tended either to the miscarriage or success of the great generals whose

whose actions he was reviewing, and deduced maxims from the whole for the direction of his own conduct. It is presumed, that there are few officers who have not read Xenophon, Quintus Curtius, Cæsar, and Vegetius; but unless the various manœuvres described by those writers are carefully analyzed and compared with those of modern times, and their degrees of usefulness and importance proved by the test of application in similar instances, such reading ill deserves the name of study for the acquisition of military knowledge. Indeed throughout the whole extent of historical learning, whether for the general purposes of life and duty, or the particular improvement of his own profession, the ardour of mere curiosity must be restrained, and the student habituated to ponder, with diligent inquiry and severe reflection, the characters actions designs and events that rise before him; till he derives the same advantages from this more enlarged knowledge by the continual application of it to his business and himself, as he has been used to derive from mere military science by the continual application of it to military service. It is this friendly harmonious indissoluble union of genius and learning, of nature and art,

art, of theory and practice, throughout his whole course of studies, that must crown all his labours, and make him an accomplished soldier, as well as a wise virtuous and useful man.

Of the books necessary for all these studies, there ought to be a scrupulous and discriminate selection: if the best are chosen, a few will be sufficient. It is, indeed, to be lamented, that in every garrison of this great and respectable kingdom, there is not a public library appropriated to the use of the army, to which young officers may not only be privileged but obliged to resort, for the preservation and advancement of that science which they have acquired in their pupilage at an academy: and till this could be accomplished in its most liberal extent, it is to be wished, as a partial substitute, that every regiment was furnished with a small collection of the best books as part of its common baggage. My zeal for the honour and perfection of the service, emboldens me to mention this; and if I should ever see the establishment of such an extensive fund of military science, it would give me inexpressible satisfaction to reflect, that

that I once took the liberty of publickly suggesting it. It would at least take away all pretensions for wasting the precious leisure of peace in idleness, that paralysis of the mind, which not only disqualifies it for future acquisitions, but renders it incapable of retaining those that are past.

Though many private academies for military education are encouraged in foreign states, in which the science and discipline proper for a soldier are most assiduously and rigorously inculcated, yet so active is the vigilance against the encroachments of idleness, that there are also academies erected in the most capital garrisons, to which, in the winter, young officers are sent in rotation, to improve the knowledge they had gained in their private seminaries. This has raised such a general spirit of emulation, that even the private men of several companies in a corps of artillery have voluntarily formed themselves into a society, for a daily review of their progress in military knowledge; and the few who from indolence or the pursuit of pleasure neglect to attend, incur great disgrace, and hear from their wiser comrades the same reproof as some of the Lacedæmonian

monian soldiers once did from the Ephori, who told them, that fauntering about town in quest of amusement was unworthy of a Spartan, whose whole time ought to be devoted to the attainment of virtue and the welfare of his country. For the same wise purpose of suppressing idleness, it is now a custom in some parts of Germany, for the subaltern officers of every regiment to repair to the major's house at six in the evening, where they are strictly examined in every branch of military science and duty: this mode of instruction is managed by a series of important questions, containing general maxims that lead to particular illustrations, and is common to every corps. I have myself so sensibly experienced the benefit of such a rigorous and unremitted interrogation, as to be induced to introduce something similar into my own plan, and to adapt it as well to the officer of horse, the engineer, and the artillerist, as to the officer of foot.

It is usual to close all systems of education, with recommending travel, as that which is to give the high-wrought form and polished lustre to the whole body of preceeding discipline.

pline. But however great the advantages of early travelling may be supposed, they are remote and difficult of attainment; while the disadvantages, if not much greater, are immediate and easily incurred. A foreign country is certainly the most improper stage for a British youth's exhibition of the untried efforts of practical wisdom, the first application of his attainments to the realities of life and manners. An intimate acquaintance with his own country, in every useful sense in which it can be understood, is a previous qualification for travelling indispensably necessary; and therefore, instead of being the concluding part of a plan of education framed and imposed by others, it should be left to the voluntary choice of maturer years, when experienced judgment, and a generous thirst after new knowledge, concur to produce it. But if a youth has not enjoyed a free and enlarged communication with men of genius, learning, wisdom, and virtue, at home; can he be fit for such an intercourse abroad? and will he not then be left to the company of fools, fops, and libertines? If he has no idea of what, as truly valuable, would attract the notice of a foreigner here, can he form any intelligent rule for the government

vernment of his own curiosity elsewhere? If he has not attained that dignity of sentiment, and that simplicity of life and manners, to which the genius of his own country, after much discipline, would lead him, will he not become a motley composition of the prevailing fashions, follies, and luxuries, of foreign courts? And if he does not perfectly understand and deeply reverence the liberal Constitution of government in Great Britain, can he remain wholly uncorrupted by the slavish principles of foreign states? Let not then the military student repine, because the time and application requisite to prepare him for the great duties and offices of his profession, will not suffer him to put a period to the series of his studies by this customary desertion of his native land: he is now in the path of wisdom and virtue, leading to extensive usefulness; and a due perseverance in it, by diligent exercise and application, will in time qualify him to set his foot on any part of the globe, with safety and advantage to himself, and with honour to his country.

There is, however, a mode of travelling highly useful to the army, that I wish to

see adopted; but it is limited to the mere attainment of topographical knowledge, and the visitation of fortified places, fields of battle, and the vestiges of camps. Besides the imperfect and sometimes false descriptions given in books, time that changes the views and interests of men, superinduces a change also in the places they inhabit; and, therefore, they cannot be accurately known, without a frequent visitation accurately made; Flanders, which was once an open country, by a spirit of cultivation and a care to fix the boundaries of property, is now become much inclosed. If, for these purposes, a few subalterns in every corps were sent out under the conduct of an officer of tried judgment and integrity, every part of the army would soon be furnished with a guide intimately acquainted with the different qualities and appearances of the different countries in Europe, and every other circumstance proper for the notice of a foldier. But in all these expeditions, regular views and plans must be taken as often as it is practicable, and an accurate and circumstantial journal kept of every day's progress.

Upon

Upon the liberal principles and with the great and extensive views suggested in this essay, I have at my own expence, and in a struggle with many difficulties and obstructions, established A MILITARY ACADEMY, of the regulations in which the following is a short abstract.

The members of this academy constitute a military republic; the laws of which are so framed, that the liberty and accommodation, as well as the discipline and improvement of each individual, are inseparably connected with the order and good government of the whole. Of these laws there is a written code, which is regularly read over to the whole society every week.

As the degrees of offence and punishment are adjusted with an equal and impartial discrimination, so also are the degrees of merit and reward. The rewards consist of silver and gold medals, and superiority of station and honour lasting as the superiority of merit that gained it. The punishments are either pecuniary, * corporal, or degrading; and to

* Guards extraordinary, arrest, and banishment to Coventry.

impress delinquents with a deeper sense of their offence, and also to deter others, they are immediately inflicted.

If any offence is committed of which the laws already enacted do not take cognizance, the offender is tried by a court-martial, and if found guilty the sentence passed upon him is instantly executed.

A faithful retrospect on past conduct restrains from the repetition of accustomed evil, and animates to the pursuit of higher good; and therefore a circumstantial journal is kept, as well of all offences and the punishments inflicted for them, as of all works of merit and the rewards by which they were distinguished; and this lies always open for public inspection.

These are the general principles of the constitution and government of the society: the more particular rules of it with respect to business, are as follow.

Every candidate for admission has a week's probation, to acquaint himself with the laws
of

of the society, and obtain the approbation of the members. After admission, he is to provide himself with the uniform, and other accoutrements.

All the members are to attend prayers at a stated hour every morning and evening; and also to attend the public service of the church every Sunday: and they are bound to the observance of this rule, under the penalty of a fine for every violation of it.

The members are distinguished into three separate corps, each of which in rotation daily mount guard, and perform other military duties.

Each member, in rotation, is invested with the character of Officer of the Week, and is then distinguished by some external mark of dignity: but as it is an established principle, that those are best qualified to command who have most learned to obey, none is admitted to the privilege of commanding, till full probation has been made of his due submission to military discipline.

The week is divided into theoretical days, and practical days.

The theoretical days are Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays, on which the study of the sciences and the attainment of all useful knowledge is pursued, such as languages, drawing, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, fortification, artillery, chronology, geography, civil law, and history.

The practical days are devoted to the exercise of the body in dancing, fencing, riding, and the manual exercise, during the day; and in the evening, in sports for the improvement of agility and strength.

With respect to military exercise, the members are instructed in all the various manoeuvres practised in the field.

In the summers of 1773 and 1774, they formed an encampment on Banstead-downs; and the two succeeding summers, through the kind and condescending offices of Lord Barrington, permission was granted them by Lord Spencer, to form an encampment on Wimbledon Common, where mines have been

been sprung; shells thrown, redoubts raised, intrenchments forced, and every thing performed that can occur in a day of battle. In this manner Lollius exercised the Roman youth, instructing them in all the operations of war, massacre excepted.

The hours employed on theoretical days are from six till eight, and from nine till twelve, in the morning; and from two till five, from six till eight, and from nine till ten, in the afternoon and evening: on practical days, the hours are from six till eight, and from nine till one, in the forenoon; and in the afternoon and evening, from three till five, and from six till eight.

The French language is spoken throughout the day, under the penalty of a pecuniary fine.

Lectures are read twice a week on tactics, artillery, fortification, geography, &c. Each science is traced from its origin through all its variations and improvements in ancient and modern times; and to impress as well as to facilitate this progressive illustration,

every part of it is demonstrated by models. In fortification, besides models in wood, various works have been raised on Wimbledon Common, by the students themselves.

In imitation of what is practised in the German corps, every member is to learn, by heart, the principal maxims in the different branches of the profession, as the ground of various questions to be proposed to him in a regular and stated course of examination.

Saturday is constantly employed in collecting the pecuniary fines, and in reviewing the progress that has been made the preceeding days of the week; and every one neglecting this, is punished by confinement to his room, till the neglect is repaired. A plan of fortification, &c. is also produced by every member; the whole of which are exhibited to public view, and, with a design to inspire emulation, are ranged according to their different degrees of merit.

The money accumulated by the fines, is appropriated to the purchase of medals, one
of

of which is always adjudged to that student, who, on a public examination, excels his competitors.

This course of exercise, discipline, and study, is pursued, without intermission, throughout the year; and, in every scientific part, it is my constant endeavour to inculcate upon all the members, the indispensable necessity of ascertaining their progress in theory, by a ready and accurate illustration of it in practice. It is in this way alone, that genius and industry will always be sure of meeting their just reward; and that no one will be in danger of deceiving himself and his friends, by pretensions to a knowledge that he is not able to make use of.

And now let the impartial reader determine, whether, if this plan of education is properly pursued as the essential ground of attainments that require unremitted cultivation, the profession of arms can possibly be an idle profession: and let him also determine, whether, to preserve its subserviency to the welfare of a state whose Constitution

of

of government is founded in wisdom and virtue, it does not require such acquisitions of wisdom and virtue, as will not fail to render it ornamental in peace, and great and glorious in war.

Temperance and patriotism were the basis, on which the antient republics rose to their highest glory; and those individuals who served their country in war, were only distinguished from others by the severer and more resplendent exercises of those two virtues. But the soldiers of Britain have much higher motives to the practice of the most exemplary self-denial, and the most generous public virtue: they have a better form of government, for the security of their dearest rights; and they have a divine religion, inspiring universal temperance, righteousness, and benevolence. “ Citizens of this profession,” says Montesquieu, “ being infinitely
 “ enlightened with respect to the various
 “ duties of life, and having the warmest zeal
 “ to fulfill them, must be perfectly sensible
 “ of the rights of natural defence: the more
 “ they believe themselves indebted to religion,
 “ the more they will think is due to
 “ their

“ their country. The principles of Christianity
 “ deeply engraved upon the heart, will be
 “ infinitely more powerful, than the false
 “ honour of monarchies, the human virtue
 “ of republics, or the servile fear of despotic
 “ states: and that religion which ordains
 “ that men should love one another, would
 “ doubtless have every nation blest with
 “ the best civil the best political laws; be-
 “ cause these, next to such a religion, are
 “ the greatest good that man can receive or
 “ impart.”

When gentlemen bred for the army, are
 early impressed with the idea of a good citi-
 zen under the best form of government unit-
 ed with the profession of Christianity, as their
 principal and distinguishing character; and
 are continually reminded, that their mili-
 tary character arises out of it, is subordinate
 to it, and dependent upon it; there will be
 little danger of their looking upon the pro-
 fession of arms in any other light, than as
 bound to the attainment of such knowledge
 and virtue, as will be always instrumental
 to the public good, whenever the public
 good requires their exertion. “ The righte-
 “ ousness

"ousness and mercy," says a very elegant
 and judicious writer, "which is due to all
 "men, is the law of nature, the com-
 "mand of religion, and ought to be the
 "first and leading maxim of civil polity.
 "Not many ages ago, it was customary to
 "engage in war without a reasonable cause
 "of provocation, and to carry it on without
 "humanity or mercy : since then it is hap-
 "pily become necessary, for states to explain
 "their motives, and justify their conduct,
 "before they begin to destroy their fellow
 "creatures. And blessed be his memory,
 "who first taught the soldier to spare the
 "useful husbandman, and to feel a horror
 "at the shedding of innocent blood !"

The Theban general Epaminondas, though
 so highly renowned for his military talents,
 yet valued not the character of a warrior
 merely for itself. Distinguished as he was
 for his abilities and virtues in the field and
 the senate, he was still more eminent for
 his wisdom as a philosopher, and for his
 amiable qualities in private life ; so that his-
 torians unanimously represent him, as a pat-
 tern of all that is great and excellent in hu-
 man

man nature. Let military students be prompted to emulate this exalted character; and as Britons professing Christianity, let them crowd as much knowledge and as many virtues and graces into it, as the character is capable of receiving. The wiser and better they are, as men and citizens; the more useful and illustrious they will be, as **SOLDIERS.**

T H E E N D.

*** The following sketch of the great principles of righteous government, and of the British Constitution as raised upon them, which is chiefly taken from a celebrated writer, has been pointed out as the clearest and most comprehensive that could be given: and as it is subjoined to this Essay, less for the information of the reader, than for the instruction of the pupil, it is printed in a smaller character.

THE Infinitely Wise and Beneficent Author of Existence has intrusted man with life, and liberty, and strength to acquire property for his support. These are the natural inherent and indefeasible rights of all men. No consent of parties, no institution, can make any change in this great fundamental law of rights; it is universal, invariable, unalienable; it is only defeasible in particular cases, as where one man, by assailing the safety of another, justly forfeits the title which he had to his own safety.

If human nature had never fallen into a state of inordinate appetence, laws and legal restraints would have been needless: but as all men are tyrants by nature, prone to covet and grasp at the rights of others, the great law of SAFETY TO ALL can no otherwise be maintained, than by THE RESTRAINT OF EACH FROM DOING INJURY TO ANY. On this sad necessity of man's calling for help against man, is founded every intention and end of civil government; and all laws that do not branch from this stem, are cankered and rotten: all political edifices, that are not built and sustained upon this foundation "of defending the weak against the oppressor," must sink into a tyranny even worse than that anarchy which is called the state of nature, where individuals are unconnected by any social tie. But if a system could be framed, by which wrong should not be permitted or dispensed with in any man, right would consequently ensue and be enjoyed by all men, and this would be THE PERFECTION OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

It has, however, been affirmed even by learned men, that God, in whom is the disposal of all lives and all
proper-

properties, has given to some a right to rule over others; that governors are his vicegerents and representatives upon earth; and that he hath appointed the descendible and hereditary rights of fathers over families, of patriarchs over tribes, and of kings over nations. In a qualified sense, indeed, this affirmation may be just: all the agents and dispensers of BENEFICENCE, whether their sphere is small or great, are God's true representatives and vicegerents upon earth. He hath given authority to the tenderness of parents over their offspring; and he hath invested patriarchs and kings with the rights of protection: but he never gave the vulture a right to rule over the dove-cote; never gave up the innocent many for a prey to the tyrannous few. Arbitrary regents are no further of his appointment, than the evils of earthquakes and hurricanes; and as he is said "to give the wicked a king in his anger," and "to set over the nations the basest of men." God can never take pleasure in the breaches of the law of his own righteousness and benignity; he is the God of equity and good-will to all his creatures; and he founds his own authority, not in power, but beneficence: the law, therefore, of SAFETY AND WELL-BEING TO ALL, is founded in the nature of God himself, and is eternal, immutable, and indispensable.

One man may abound in strength, authority, and possessions; but no man can have greater right than another: the beggar has as much right to his cloak and his scrip, as the king to his robes and crown-lands. To establish and preserve this divinely inherent right of security to the person and property of man, has been the study and labour of Hermes, Confucius, Minos, Lycurgus,

curgus, Solon, Numa, and of all the legislators whose systems of civil polity ever warmed the world with a single ray of freedom. But so strong is the propensity to usurpation in man, so dangerous is it to tempt trustees with the investiture of power, that whether government has been committed to ONE, the FEW, or the MANY, the parties intrusted have generally proved traitors, and deputed power has been almost perpetually seized upon as property. Monarchy has ever been found to rush headlong into tyranny; aristocracy into faction, and multiplied usurpation; and democracy into tumult, confusion, and violence. And all these, whether distinct from or compounded with each other, have ended in the supremacy of some arbitrary tyrant, enabled, by a body of military mercenaries raised and supported by himself, to rule oppress and spoil the people at pleasure.

That Great-Britain, after so many wrecks and injuries as are recorded in history, has been able to recover, to grow sounder from her wounds, and mightier from her discomfitures, is owing to the peculiarity of her constitution. "Salus Populi, Public Safety, Security to the Persons and Properties of the People," constitutes the whole of Britain's polity. Her empire is IMPERIUM LEGUM, the sway of law; it is the dispensation of beneficence, of equal right to all: and this empire rises supreme over king, lords, and commons, and is appointed to rule the rulers to the end of time.

Other states, before now, have been compounded, like ours, of prince, peers, and people; the one, few,
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and

and many, united. But the error and failure of their constitution was this : the people, who are the fountain of all power, either retained in their own hands an authority which they were never qualified to wield ; or deputed it to trustees without account, without a provident resource and due reserve of potency, when those to whom the trust of government was delegated betrayed their trust. The people of Britain, on the contrary, claim no authority in government ; neither in the framing, administration, or execution of the laws, by which they consent to be governed. They are themselves imaged, and, as it were, epitomized in their three several estates : the king represents their majesty, the lords their nobility, and the commons more immediately their legislative power. The constitution is the inheritance of them and their posterity ; and theirs is the right and duty, at all times, to watch over, assert, and reclaim it. Wherefore, as appears from history, when any one of the estates have usurped upon the others, nay even when all of them together have dared to violate the frame of this salutary constitution, the people, to whom it belongs, have never failed to restore and reinstate it. The three estates of king, lords, and commons, are parts of the people, under covenant with the people, and accountable to the people ; but the people, as a people, make not any of the said estates. They are as a perpetual fountain, from whence the three estates arise : or rather, as a sea of waters, in which three exalted waves should claim pre-eminence ; which yet shall not be able to depart from their fund, but, in rotation, are dissoluble and resolvable therein.

Thus,

Thus, however complicated the system of Britain's polity may be, it is all rooted in and branches from THE TRUST OF THE PEOPLE, the trust of powers which they have granted to be RETURNED IN PROTECTION. And, indeed, it makes little difference, whether the powers, in such cases, be granted or assumed: whoever either receives or assumes such powers, save to the ends of BENEFICENCE, is equally guilty of usurpation and tyranny. Government can have no powers, save the powers of the people; namely, the power of their numbers, strength, and courage, in time of war; and in peace, of their art and industry, and the wealth arising therefrom. Whoever assumes these powers, or any part thereof, without the consent of the proprietors, is a robber, and should at least be divested of the spoil.

On the other hand, if such powers are granted by the people, the people cannot grant them for purposes to which they themselves cannot lawfully apply them. No man, for instance, can arbitrarily dispose of his own life or liberty; neither of the whole product of his own labours, as the lives of himself and his family must be first sustained thereby, and his obligations to others fairly and fully discharged. He cannot, therefore, grant an arbitrary disposal of what he hath not an arbitrary disposal in himself: much less can any man grant a power over the lives, liberties, or properties of other people, as it would be criminal and highly punishable in himself to assail them. Hence it necessarily follows, that no man, or body of men, can rightfully assume, or even accept, what no man, or body of men, can rightfully grant; namely, "a power that is arbitrary

“trary or injurious to others.” And hence it also necessarily follows, that all usurpations of such powers throughout the earth, with all actual or pretended covenants, trusts, or grants, for the investiture or conveyance of them, are null and void on the execution; and that no man, or nations of men, can possibly be bound by any consents or contracts ever since of the laws of God and their own nature, of common sense and general equity, of eternal reason and truth.

How deplorable then is the suppression of these rights, now nearly universal throughout the earth! But when people, from their infancy, and from generation to generation, have been habituated to bondage oppression and submission, without any tradition or memorial delivered down to them of a happier or more equitable manner of life, they are accustomed to look on themselves, their possessions, and their progeny, as the rightful property of their rulers, to be disposed of at pleasure; and they no more regret the want of that LIBERTY which they never knew, than those born blind regret the want of light.

Travellers, when they survey a grand Egyptian pyramid, are apt to inquire by whom the stupendous pile was erected, and how long it hath stood the assaults of time. But when nothing of this can be developed, imagination runs back through antiquity without bounds, and thence contemplates an object, with peculiar veneration, that appears to have had no beginning. Such a structure is The Constitution of Great Britain! No records discover when it had a commencement; neither can any annals specify the time at which it was not.

William

William the Norman, above seven hundred years ago, on his entering into the ORIGINAL CONTRACT with the people, engaged to govern them according to the “ *bonæ et approbatæ antiquæ regni leges*, the “ good well-approved and ancient laws of the kingdom :” this constitution was therefore ancient, even in ancient times.

More than eighteen hundred years are now elapsed, since Julius Cæsar, in the sixth book of his commentaries, bore testimony as well to the antiquity as excellency of the laws of Britain. He tells us, that the venerable order of the Druids, who then administered justice throughout Gaul, derived their system of government from Britain; and it was customary for those, who were desirous of being versed in these ancient institutions, to go over to Britain for that purpose. Cæsar seems to recommend, while he specifies, one of the laws that was then peculiar to the constitution of Britain. He says, that, if a woman was suspected of the death of her husband, she was questioned thereupon with severity “ by her neighbours;” and that, if she was found guilty, she was tied alive to a stake and burned to death: the very law used in Britain, “ by a jury of neighbours,” to this day. It is hence very obvious, that our Gothic ancestors either adopted what they judged excellent in the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, or rather superadded what was deemed to be excellent in their own.

The people who went under the general name of Goths, were of many different nations, who from the northern poured down on the more southern parts of

Europe. Their kings were originally chiefs or generals, appointed to lead voluntary armies, or colonies, for the forming of new settlements in foreign lands; and they were followed by a free and independent multitude, who had previously stipulated that they should share and enjoy the possessions which their valour should conquer. Next, in order, to the general, the officers or principal men of the army were attended on such expeditions by their kinsfolk friends and dependents, who chose to attach themselves to their persons and fortunes respectively; and such attachments gave their officers great power and consideration. On their conquest or seizure of any tract or country, a certain portion thereof was allotted to the general, for the maintenance of his person and household. He then divided the remainder among his officers, to hold of him, in fief, at the certain service of so many horse or foot, well armed and provided, &c. and proportioned to the value and extent of the land assigned. And those officers again parcelled out the greatest part of the said possessions among their respective followers, to hold of themselves in like manner and service as they held of their general. On the conquest of a country, they seldom chose to exterminate the natives or old inhabitants, but allotted to them also separate remnants of the land, and admitted them to the common and equal participation of such laws or usages, as they brought from their own country, or chose to adopt. Independent of the military services above reserved, the prince or chief further reserved the civil service or personal attendance of his feudatory officers, at certain times and for certain terms, at his general or national court. This court was composed of three estates, the prince, the nobles, and such of the priesthood,

hood, whether Pagan or Christian, as held in fief from the prince : and from this NATIONAL COUNCIL the PARLIAMENT took it's origin. The feudal officers also, on their part, reserved the like service and personal attendance of their proper tenants and vassals at their respective courts of judicature. And as in such courts no civil or criminal sentence could take place, till the voice of the judge was affirmed by the court, which consisted of such as were peers, or equals, to the party accused ; from thence is derived the free, ancient, and sacred institution of JURIES.

If we look back upon one of those fief or feudel kings, seated high on his throne, and encircled with all the ensigns of royalty ; when we find him styled the sole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions ; when we hear his subjects acknowledge, that he alone is the fountain from whence are derived all possessions, rights, titles, distinctions, and dignities ; when we see his most potent prefects and nobles, with lifted hands and bended knees, swearing fealty at his feet ; who would not take him for an arbitrary and most absolute monarch ? No prince, however, could be more limited ; he had not the licence of doing hurt to the person or property of the meanest vassal throughout his dominions. But, was he the less powerful, for being less absolute ? Quite the contrary. While he acted within the sphere of his compact with the people, he acted in all the persons and powers of the people : though prescribed with respect to evil, the extent of his beneficence was wholly unconfined. He was not dreaded indeed, but on that account he was the more revered and beloved by his subjects : he was a part of themselves, the principal

member of their body, in whom they beheld with delight their own dignity and strength, gloriously represented ; and, by being the proprietor of their hearts, he became the master of all their hands.

THE KING in the constitution of Great Britain, is more properly the king of, than a king over the people, united to them, one of them, and contained in them. At the same time that he is acknowledged the head of their body, he is their principal servant or minister, being the depute of their executive power.

His claim to the throne, is not a claim as of some matter of property or personal right ; he doth not claim, but is claimed by the people in their parliament ; and he is claimed or called upon, not to the investiture of possessions, but the performance of duties. He is called upon to govern the people, according to the laws by which they themselves have consented to be governed ; to cause justice and mercy to be dispensed throughout the realm ; and, to his utmost, to execute, protect, and maintain the laws of the Gospel of God, and the rights and liberties of all the people without distinction ; and this he swears on the Gospel of God to perform. And thus, as all others owe allegiance to the king, the king himself oweth allegiance to the constitution.

The existence of a king, as one of the three estates, is immutable, indispensable, and indefeasible : the constitution cannot subsist without a king. But then his personal claim of possession, and of hereditary succession to the throne, is, in several instances, precarious and defeasible : as in case of any natural incapacity to govern ;

vern ; or of an open avowal of principles incompatible with the constitution ; or of overt-acts demonstrative of such principles ; or of any attempt to sap or overthrow a fundamental part of that system, which he was called in, and constituted, and has sworn to maintain.

Though the claim of all kings to the throne of Great Britain is a limited and defeasible claim, yet the world can afford no rival in power or glory, to a Constitutional Sovereign of these free dominions. For the honour of their own body, they have invested this their head with all possible illustration. He concentrates the rays of many nations. They have cloathed him in royal robes, encircled his head with a diadem, and inthroned him on high : and they bow down before the mirror of their own majesty.

Neither are his the mere ensigns or external shews of regency : he is invested also with powers much more real than if they were absolute. There are three capital prerogatives with which the king is intrusted, which, at first sight, appear of fearful and dangerous tendency ; and which must infallibly end in arbitrary dominion, if they were not counterpoised and counteracted. His principal prerogative is to make war or peace, as also treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign potentates. His second prerogative is to nominate and appoint all ministers and servants of state, all judges and administrators of justice, and all officers civil and military. His third capital prerogative is, that he should have the whole executive power of the government of these nations, by his said ministers and officers, both civil and military.

I might

I might here also have added a fourth prerogative, which must have been capitally everfive of the constitution, had it not been limited in the original trust : I mean a power of granting pardon to criminals. Had this power been unrestrained, all obligations to justice might be absolved at the king's pleasure : an evil king might even encourage the breach of law : he must, unquestionably, have dispensed with all illicit acts that were perpetrated by his own orders ; and the assurance of pardon must as unquestionably have encouraged all his ministers and officers, to execute his will as the only rule of their obedience. But he is restrained from protecting his best beloved ministers, when they have effected or even imagined the damage of the constitution : he is also limited in appeals brought by the subject for murder or robbery. But, on indictments in his own name, for offences against his proper person and government, such as rebellion, insurrection, riot, and breaches of the peace, by murder, maim, or robbery, &c. he is at liberty to extend the arm of his mercy ; there being many cases so circumstanced, so admittive of pitiable and palliating considerations, that summum jus, or strict justice, might prove summa injuria, or extreme injustice.

All pardonable offences are distinguished by the title of, *crimina læsæ majestatis*, sins against the king : all unpardonable offences are distinguished by the title of, *crimina læsæ libertatis*, sins against the constitution. In the first case, the injury is presumed to extend no further than to one or a few individuals ; in the second, it is charged as a sin against the public, against the collective body of the whole people. Of the latter kind are nuisances that may endanger the lives of travellers on the

the high-way ; but, more capitally, any imagination, proved by overt-act or evil advice, tending to change the nature or form of any one of the three estates ; or tending to vest the government, or the administration thereof, in any one or any two of the said estates, independent of the other ; or tending to raise armies, or to continue them in time of peace, without the consent of parliament ; or tending to give any foreign state an advantage over these realms by sea or by land.

The king hath also annexed to his dignity many further very important powers and prerogatives ; tho' they do not so intimately interfere with the constitution as the capital prerogatives above recited. He is considered as the original proprietor of all the lands in these kingdoms ; and he founds this claim, as well on the conquest by William the Norman, as by the limited kings or leaders of our Gothic ancestors. Hence it comes to pass, that all lands, to which no subject can prove a title, are supposed to be in their original owner, and are, therefore, by the constitution, vested in the crown. On the same principle also, the king is intitled to the lands of all persons who die without heirs ; as also to the possessions of all, who are convicted of crimes subversive of the constitution or public weal.

His person, while he is king or inclusive of the first estate, is constitutionally sacred, and exempted from all acts of violence or constraint. As one of the estates also he is constituted a corporation, and his teste-meipso, or written testimony, amounts to a matter of record. He also exercises, at present, the independent province of supplying members to the second estate by a new creation,
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a very large accession to his original powers. Bishops also are now appointed and nominated by the king, another considerable addition to the royal prerogative. His is the sole prerogative to coin or impress money; and to specify, change, or determine, its current value; and for this purpose he is supposed to have reserved, from his original grant of lands, a property in mines of gold and silver, which are therefore called royalties. As one of the three constitutional estates, no action can lie against him in any court; neither can he be barred of his title by length of time or entry. And these illustrations of his dignity cast rays of answerable privileges on his royal consort, heir apparent, and eldest daughter. The king hath also some other inferior and conditional powers; such as of instituting fairs and markets; and of issuing patents for special or personal purposes, provided they shall not be found to infringe on the rights of others. He is also intrusted with the guardianship of the persons and possessions of idiots and lunatics without account. I leave his prerogative of a negative voice in the legislature; as also his prerogative, or rather duty, frequently to call the two other estates to parliament, and duly to continue, prorogue, and dissolve the same; till I come to speak of the three estates, when in such parliament assembled.

Here then we find, that a king of Great Britain is constitutionally invested with every power that can possibly be exerted in acts of beneficence; and that, while he continues to move within the sphere of his benign appointment, he continues to be constituted the most worthy, most mighty, and most glorious representative of Omnipotence upon earth.

In treating of the second and third estate, I come naturally to consider what those restraints are, which, while they are preserved inviolate, have so happy a tendency to the mutual prosperity of prince and people.

THE NOBILITY, or second estate, in the constitution of Great Britain, was originally representative. The members were ennobled by tenure, and not by writ or patent; and they were holden in service to the crown and kingdom, for the respective provinces, counties, or baronies, whose name they bore and which they represented.

A title to be a member of this second estate, was from the beginning hereditary. The king could not anti-ently either create or defeat a title to nobility. Their titles were not forfeitable, save by the judgment of their peers upon legal trial; and when any were so deprived, or happened to die without heirs, the succession was deemed too important to be otherwise filled, than by the concurrence of the three estates, by the joint and solemn act of the **PARLIAMENT, or COMMUNE CONCILIUM REGNI.**

These truths are attested by many ancient records and parliamentary acts. And, altho this most highly ennobling custom was, at particular times, infringed by particular tyrants, it was inviolably adhered to by the best of our English kings, and was observed even by the worst, excepting a few instances, till the reign of Henry VII. who wished to give consequence to the third estate, by deducting from the honours and powers of the second. In truth, it is not to be wondered, that
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any kings, who were ambitious of extending their own power, should wish to break and weaken that of the nobility, who had distinguished themselves by so many glorious stands for maintenance of liberty and the constitution, more particularly during the reigns of John, Henry III, Edward II, and Richard II.

Till Henry VII. the nobles were looked upon as so many pillars, whereon the people rested their rights. Accordingly we find that, in the coalition or grand compact between John and the collective body of the nation, the king and people jointly agree to confide to the nobles the superintendence of the execution of the great charter, with authority to them and their successors to enforce the due performance of the covenants therein comprized.

What an illustrating distinction must it have been, when patriot-excellence alone, approved before the country in the field or the council, could give a claim to nobility, and compel, as it were, the united estates of king lords and commons, to call a man up to the second seat in the government and steerage of the nation! Such a preference must have proved an unremitting incitement to the cultivation and exercise of every virtue; and to such exertions, achievements, and acts of public beneficence, as should draw a man forth to so shining a point of light, and set him like a gem in the gold of the constitution.

The crown did not at once assume the independent right of conferring nobility. Henry III. first omitted to call some of the barons to parliament, who were personally

sonally obnoxious to him; and he issued his writs or written letters to some others who were not barons, but from whom he expected greater conformity to arbitrary measures. These writs, however, did not ennoble the party, till he was admitted, by the second estate, to a seat in parliament; neither was such nobility, by writ, hereditary. To supply these defects, the arbitrary ministry of Richard II. invented the method of ennobling by letters patent, at the king's pleasure, whether for years or for life, or in special or general tail, or in fee-simple to a man and his heirs at large. This prerogative, however, was thereafter, in many instances, declined and discontinued, more particularly by the constitutional king Henry V. till meeting with no opposition from the other two estates, it has successively descended from Henry VII. on nine crowned heads, through a prescription of near a century and an half.

Next to their king, the people have allowed to their peerage several privileges of the most uncommon and illustrious distinction. Their Christian names, and the names that descended to them from their ancestors, are absorbed by the name from whence they take their title of honour, and by this they make their signature in all letters of deeds. Every temporal peer of the realm is deemed a kinsman to the crown. Their deposition on their honour, is admitted in place of their oath, save where they personally present themselves as witnesses of facts, and saving their oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. During a session of parliament, all actions and suits at law against peers are suspended. In presentments or indictments by grand juries, and on impeachments by the house of commons, peers are to be
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tried by their peers alone; for in all criminal cases they are privileged from the jurisdiction of inferior courts, excepting on appeals for murder or robbery. Peers are also exempted from serving on inquests. And, in all civil causes, where a peer is plaintiff, two or more knights must be impannelled on the jury.

The bishops, or spiritual lords, have privilege of parliament, but have not the above privileges of personal nobility. In all criminal cases, saving attainder and impeachment, they are to be tried by a petit-jury. Moreover, bishops do not vote, in the house of lords, on the trial of any person for a capital crime.

All the temporal and spiritual nobles that compose the house of lords, however different in their titles and degrees of nobility, are called peers, pares, or equals, because their voices are admitted as of equal value; so that the vote of a bishop or baron is equivalent to that of an archbishop or duke.

The capital privilege, or rather prerogative, of the house of peers, consists in their being the supreme court of judicature, to whom the final decision of all civil causes are confided and referred, in the last resort.

This constitutional privilege is a weighty counterpoise to his majesty's second prerogative of appointing the administrators of justice throughout the nation; forasmuch as judges are intimidated from infringing, by any sentence, on the laws or constitution of these realms, while a judgment, so highly superior to their own, impends.

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The second great privilege of the house of peers consists, in their having the sole judicature of all impeachments commenced and prosecuted by the commons. And this again is a very weighty counterpoise to his majesty's third prerogative of the executive government of these nations by his ministers; since no minister can be so great, as not justly to dread the coming under a judgment, from which the mightiness of his royal master cannot protect him.

The third capital privilege of the house of peers subsists, in their share, or particular department of rights, in the legislature. This extends to the framing of any bills, at their pleasure, for the purposes of good government; saving always to the commons, their incommunicable right of granting taxes or subsidies to be levied on their constituents. But on such bills, as on all others, the house of lords have a negative: a happy counterpoise to the power both of king and commons, should demands on the one part, or bounties on the other, exceed what is requisite.

THE ELECTION OF COMMONERS, to be immediate trustees and apt representatives of the people in parliament, is the hereditary and indefeasible privilege of the people. It is the privilege which they accepted, and which they retain, in exchange of their originally inherent and hereditary right of sitting with the king and peers, IN PERSON, for the guardianship of their own liberties and the institution of their own laws. Such representatives, therefore, can never have it in their power, to give, delegate, or extinguish, the whole or any part of the people's inseparable and unextinguishable share in the legislative power; neither to impart the

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same to any one of the other estates, or to any person or persons whatever, either in or out of parliament. Where plenipotentiaries take upon them to abolish the authority of their principals; or where any secondary agents attempt to defeat the power of their primaries; such agents and plenipotentiaries destroy their own commission, and all the powers of the trust necessarily revert to the constituents.

The persons of these temporary trustees of the people, during their session, and for fourteen days before and after every meeting, prorogation, adjournment, and dissolution of parliament, are equally exempted, with the persons of peers, from arrest and dures of every sort. They are also, during their session, to have ready access to the king or house of lords, and to address or confer with them on all occasions.

No member of the house of commons, no more than of the house of peers, shall suffer, or be questioned, or compelled to witness or answer, in any court or place whatsoever, touching any thing said or done by himself or others in parliament; in order that perfect freedom of speech and action may leave nothing unattempted for the public weal. They have also, during session, an equal power with the house of lords, to punish any who shall presume to traduce their dignity, or detract from the rights and privileges of any member of their house.

The commons form a court of judicature, distinct from the judicature of the house of lords. Theirs is the peculiar privilege to try and adjudge the legality of the election of their own members: they may fine and con-
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fine their own members as well as others, for delinquency or offence against the honour of their house : but, in all other matters of judicature, they are merely a court of inquisition and presentment, and not a tribunal of definitive judgement. In this respect, however, they are extremely formidable : they constitute the grand inquest of the nation ; for which great and good purpose, they are supposed to be perfectly qualified, by a personal knowledge of what hath been transacted throughout the several shires, cities, and boroughs, from whence they assemble, and which they represent.

Over and above their inquiry into all public grievances, wicked ministers, transgressing magistrates, corrupt judges and justiciaries, who sell, deny, or delay justice ; evil counsellors of the crown, who attempt or devise the subversion or alteration of any part of the constitution ; with all such overgrown malefactors as are deemed above the reach of inferior courts ; come under the particular cognizance of the commons, to be by them impeached, and presented for trial at the bar of the house of lords. And these inquisitory and judicial powers of the two houses, from which no man under the crown can be exempted, are deemed a sufficient allay and counterpoise to the whole executive power of the king by his ministers.

The legislative department of the power of the commons, is in all respects co-equal with that of the peers. They frame any bills at pleasure for the purposes of good government. They exercise a right, as the lords also do, to propose and bring in bills, for the amendment or repeal of old laws, as well as for the ordaining

or institution of new ones. And each house alike hath a negative on all bills that are framed and passed by the other. But the capital the incommunicable privilege of the house of commons, arises from that holy trust which their constituents repose in them; whereby they are impowered to borrow from the people a small portion of their property, in order to restore it three-fold, in the advantages of peace, equal government, and the encouragement of trade, industry, and the manufactures. To impart any of this trust, would be a breach of the constitution: and even to abuse it, would be a felonious breach of common honesty.

By this fundamental trust and incommunicable privilege, the commons have the sole power over the money of the people; to grant or deny aids, according as they shall judge them either requisite or unnecessary to the public service. Theirs is the province, and theirs alone, to enquire and judge of the several occasions for which such aids may be required, and to measure and appropriate the sums to their respective uses. Theirs also is the sole province of framing all bills or laws for the imposing of any taxes, and of appointing the means for levying the same upon the people. Neither may the first or second estate, either king or peerage, propound or do any thing relating to these matters, that may any way interfere with the proceedings of the commons, save in their negative or assent to such bills, when presented to them, without addition, deduction, or alteration of any kind.

After such aids and taxes have been levied and disposed of, the commons have the further right of enquiring and

examining into the application of the said aids; of ordering all accounts relative thereto, to be laid before them; and of censuring the abuse or misapplication thereof. The royal assent to all other bills is expressed in the terms "Le roy le veut; the king wills it:" but, when the commons present their bills of aid to his majesty, it is answered, "Le roy remercie ses loyal
 "sujets, et ainsi le veut; the king thanks his loyal subjects, and so willeth;" an express acknowledgement, that the right of granting or levying monies for public purposes, lies solely, inherently, and incommunicably, in the people and their representatives.

This capital privilege of the commons, constitutes the grand counterpoise to the king's principal prerogative of making war: for how impotent must a warlike enterprise prove without money, which makes the sinews thereof! And thus the people and their representatives still retain in their hands the GRAND MOMENTUM of the constitution, and of all human affairs. Distinguished representatives! Happy people, immutably happy, while worthily represented!

As the fathers of the several families throughout the kingdom, nearly and tenderly comprize and represent the persons, cares, and concerns, of their respective households; so these adopted fathers immediately represent, and intimately concentrate, the persons and concerns of their respective constituents, and in them the collective body or sum of the nation. And while these fathers continue true to their adopting children, a single stone cannot lapse from the GREAT FABRIC OF THE CONSTITUTION.

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WITH the king, lords, and commons, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, the people have deposited their legislative or absolute power, IN TRUST for their whole body; the said king, lords, and commons, when so assembled, being the GREAT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE NATION, as if all the people were then convened in one general assembly.

As the institution, repeal, and amendment of laws, together with the redress of public grievances and offences, are not within the capacity of any of the three estates distinct from the others, the frequent holding of parliaments is the vital food, without which the constitution cannot subsist.

The three estates originally, when assembled in parliament, sat together consulting in the open field. Accordingly, at Running-Mead, five hundred years ago, king John passed the great charter (as therein is expressed) by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, by the advice of several commoners (by name recited) et aliorum fidelium, and of others his faithful people. And in the twenty-first clause of the said charter, he covenants that, "For having the common council of the kingdom to assess aids, he will cause the lords spiritual and temporal to be summoned by his writs; and moreover that he will cause the principal commoners, or those who held from him in chief, to be generally summoned to said parliaments by his sheriffs and bailiffs." In these assemblies however, the concourse became so great and disorderly, and the contests frequently ran so high between the several estates, in assertion of their respective prerogatives and privileges; that they

they judged it more expedient to sit apart, and separately to exercise the offices of their respective departments.

As there is no man or set of men, no class or corporation, no village or city, throughout the kingdom, that is not represented by the delegates in parliament, this great body politic or representative of the nation consists, like the body natural, of a head and several members; which, being endowed with different powers for the exercise of different offices, are yet connected by one main and common interest, and actuated by ONE LIFE OR SPIRIT OF PUBLIC REASON, called THE LAWS.

In all steps of national import, the king is to be conducted by the direction of the parliament, his great national council; a council on whom it is equally incumbent to consult for the king with whom they are connected, and for the people by whom they are delegated, and whom they represent. Thus the king is constitutionally to be guided by the sense of his parliament; and the parliament alike is constitutionally to be guided by the general sense of the people. The two estates in parliament are the constituents of the king; and the people, mediately or immediately, are the constituents of the two estates in parliament.

Now, while the three estates act distinctly, within their respective departments, they affect and are reciprocally affected by each other. This action and re-action produces that general and systematic controul, which, like CONSCIENCE, pervades and superintends the whole,
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checking and prohibiting evil from every part of the constitution. And from this confinement of every part to the rule of RIGHT REASON, the great LAW OF LIBERTY TO ALL ariseth. For instance, The king has the sole prerogative of making war, &c. but then the means are in the hands of the people and their representatives. Again, To the king is committed the whole executive power: but then the ministers of that power are accountable to a tribunal, from which a criminal has no appeal or deliverance to look for. Again, To the king is committed the cognizance of all causes: but should his judges or justiciaries pervert the rule of righteousness, an inquisition, impeachment, and trial impends, from whose judgment the judges cannot be exempted. Again, The king hath a negative upon all bills, whereby his own prerogatives are guarded from invasion: but should he refuse the royal assent to bills tending to the general good of the subject, the commons can also withhold their bills of assessment, or annex the rejected bills to their bill of aids; and they never failed to pass in such agreeable company. Lastly, To the king is committed the right of calling the two estates to parliament; but, should he refuse so to call them, such a refusal would be deemed an abdication of the constitution; and no one need to be told at this day, that an abdication of the constitution is an ABDICATION OF THE THRONE.

Thus, while the king acts in consent with the parliament and his people, he is limitless, irresistible, omnipotent upon earth; he is the free wielder of all the powers of a free and noble people, a king throned over all the kings of the children of men. But should he attempt to break bounds, should he cast for independence, he

he finds himself hedged in and straitened on every side ; he finds himself abandoned by all his powers, and justly left to a state of utter impotence and inaction.

Hence is imputed to the sovereign head, in the constitution of Great Britain, the high and divine attribute, **THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG** ; for he is so circumscribed from the possibility of transgression, that no wrong can be permitted to any king in the constitution.

While the king is thus controuled by the lords and the commons ; while the lords are thus controuled by the commons and the king ; and while the commons are thus controuled by the other two estates, from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the general welfare ; the three estates may be aptly compared to three pillars divided below at equidistant angles, but united and supported at top, merely by the bearing of each pillar against the others : take but any one of these pillars away, and the other two must inevitably tumble ; but while all act on each other, all are equally counteracted, and thereby affirm and establish the general frame.

How deplorable then would it be, should the elaborate structure of this happy constitution ever fall a prey to effeminacy, pusillanimity, venality, and seduction ; like some ancient oak, the lord of the forest, to vile worms that lie gnawing at the root ! Should the morals of the representatives ever come to be debauched, **CONSENT**, which is the salt of liberty, would then be corrupted, and no salt might be found wherewith it could be seasoned. Those who are inwardly the servants of sin, must be outwardly the servants of influence : each man would

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then be as the Trojan horse of old, and carry the enemies of his country within his bosom : their own appetites would then induce them to betray their own interests ; and state policy would seize them, a willing sacrifice to their own perdition. Should it ever come to pass, that corruption, like a dark and low-hung mist, should spread from man to man, and cover these lands ; should a general dissolution of manners prevail ; should vice be countenanced and communicated by the leaders of fashion ; should guilt lift up it's head without fear of reproach, avow itself in the face of the sun, and laugh virtue out of countenance by force of numbers—Should such a day ever arrive, it will be doom's-day, indeed, to the virtue, the liberty, and constitution of these kingdoms. It would be the same to Great Britain, as it would happen to the universe, should the laws of cohesion cease to operate, and all the parts be dissipated, whose orderly connection now forms THE BEAUTY AND COMMON-WEALTH OF NATURE.

T H E E N D.